THE Nation

VOLUME 145 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • AUGUST 7, 1937 NUMBER 6

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The Shape of Things

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THE JAPANESE INVASION OF NORTH CHINA is not hard to interpret. In contrast to the seizure of Manchuria six years ago, Japan has made no pretext of self-defense or of the need of an outlet for its teeming population. Nor has there been any suggestion that Japanese citizens were maltreated. No resort was even made to the threadbare story that the local population demanded liberation from Chinese misrule. Without pretext or legal fiction, the Japanese attacked Peiping for the evident purpose of annexing North China to their existing domain on the Asiatic continent. To this end they bombed and burned defenseless cities and destroyed one of the leading universities in the Far East. They even threatened to extend their warfare against French and American troops because the latter did not cooperate in "cleaning up" Tientsin. Despite these crude and blundering tactics, Japan has succeeded in taking over the greater part of North China but at the cost of alienating practically the whole of world opinion, including that which is normally not disturbed by imperialist advances.

*

THE SPEED WITH WHICH JAPAN HAS CLEARED northern Hopei of Chinese resistance is not to be taken as an indication that the Japanese can similarly crush the main Nanking armies. Peiping was strategically untenable, and the only first-class troops in the whole region were the Japanese-equipped soldiers of Yin Ju-keng's East Hopei Autonomous Area, who somewhat unexpectedly put patriotism ahead of their jobs. As the Japanese have not yet clashed with the main bodies of Nanking troops north of Paotingfu and Tsangchow, there is still a possibility that Japan may refrain from pushing its conquest southward. But with Chinese nationalism at white heat as a result of the wanton destruction of Tungchow and Tientsin, it is difficult to see how Nanking dares delay longer in forcing a final showdown.

*

IN REPORTING NET EARNINGS OF $66,000,000 for the second quarter of 1937, Alfred P. Sloan, chairman of the board of the General Motors Corporation, launched a vicious attack against the C.I.O. for permitting the "unauthorized strikes" which cut into the corporation's profits. In view of increasing costs, Mr. Sloan indicated that a substantial increase in the price of cars

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was to be expected in the near future. Taken at their face value, the two statements indicate rather forcefully that capitalists have learned nothing since 1929. Let us set aside the charges and counter-charges of "irresponsibility" as irrelevant to the economic analysis. It is still clear that despite the increased wages and the losses suffered from strikes, General Motors made a net profit, after deducting taxes, of roughly $100 on each of the 658,000 cars sold during the quarter. Instead of passing on a portion of these huge earnings to the consumer in the form of lower prices, and thus obtaining greater volume, the management has served warning that it will increase prices even at the expense of reduced sales. The Brookings Institution studies have shown just how such short-sightedness precipitated the 1929 crash.

*

FRANK MURPHY HAS GOT HIMSELF TANGLED in as hopeless a web as ever troubled the dreams of a well-meaning labor governor. The Industrial Relations bill which he so hopefully introduced a few months ago came out of the legislative mill a thoroughly bad measure. It placed severe limitations on the right to picket, failed to define unfair practices, and gave a government board wide and dangerous power to control and prosecute unions. The A.F. of L., though opposed to some sections of the bill, urged Murphy to sign it, but from the C.I.O. came emphatic denunciation of the measure as "anti-labor." Responding to heavy and widespread pressure, Murphy vetoed the bill and reconvened his legislature to consider certain changes. These were not fundamental, however, and the revised draft met with no more approval from the C.I.O. than the original. But C.I.O. vs. A.F. of L. was only one part of the tangle. Mr. Murphy has a stubborn and reactionary Senate on his hands, and that body proceeded at once to reenact the original measure and adjourn without the required concurrence of the House. State police may round up the Senators and bring them back to Lansing, but what good that will do is certainly not apparent. The sum and substance of the matter is that Murphy and the A.F. of L., in their craze for some sort of regulation, must have an Industrial Relations bill, and they appear willing to trade with reactionary legislators to get it. In the nature of things, bargaining of that sort can only work to the advantage of the Girdlers and the Graces. Unless a state has both a progressive governor and a progressive legislature, friends of labor would do well to place their reliance on trade-union strength rather than fight for "enlightened" government regulation.

*

NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN MUST APPEAR TO Robert Vansittart as the perfect image of a British prime minister. Inspired by a combination of ancestor worship and plain reactionary sentiments, Mr. Chamberlain is busy placating all the fascist and near-fascist rulers of this unhappy world. The spectacle of the British prime minister exchanging personal letters with Mussolini will shortly be followed, no doubt, by the tableau of British recognition de jure of the Ethiopian conquest while Spain burns under the bombs of Italian planes in Mussolini's latest essay in imperialism. Mr. Chamberlain has even said that he would not mind visiting Mussolini himself, but foresees instead a meeting between Count Ciano and Mr. Eden, who will have a lot of distinguished world malefactors to write about in his memoirs. Meanwhile there is a new agitation for a visit to London by Baron Constantin von Neurath. All that is lacking is an exchange of greetings between Mr. Chamberlain and Prince Konoe of Japan, whose army is at present "operating" in China. We are all for cooperation, conciliation, and peace, but the inter-imperial-fascist "peace" which Mr. Chamberlain's policy portends holds little promise for the ordinary man in Ethiopia or Spain or China.

*

TRADE PAPERS PAY THEIR WAY BY PLAIN speaking. But sometimes we wonder whether the gusto with which these publications tell all springs entirely from the commercial necessity of giving the trade the "straight dope." *Tide*, trade paper for the advertising business, carried in its issue of July 15 an engaging item about Dr. James Rowland Angell, who recently became associated with the National Broadcasting Company in the capacity of educational counselor. *Tide* began by quoting the fulsome statement of the president of NBC: "Our organization is greatly honored by the privilege of having associated with it in a full-time capacity a man of Dr. Angell's distinguished attainments. . . . In joining us he is only changing his base of educational endeavor from New Haven to New York, from a university to the air. . . . " *Tide* then continued in its own merciless patois: "To most radio men the signing up of Dr. Angell was patently a shrewd bit of public relations." It went on to cite an article by Dr. Thomas H. Reed as revealing the true attitude of the commercial broadcasting companies toward education by radio, and concluded thus:

> Reed's doleful account of the actualities of the situation substantiates handsomely the trade's thinking that while Dr. Angell may be worth his $25,000 salary as a front man, he won't mean a thing as a programmer himself; his ideas either, unless he's guaranteed time and stations.

*

THOSE WEARY SOULS WHO SEE FUTILITY IN the work of the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee are referred to a letter sent out by the office of Governor Benson of Minnesota. It is addressed to Pinkerton's National Detective Agency in answer to that company's routine request for a renewal of its state license. "This is to notify you," writes Governor Benson, "that I have determined to refuse renewal of the license. . . . My reason for doing so is that I do not believe it sound public policy for any detective agency to operate in the state of Minnesota which carries on espionage activities against organized labor. I am satisfied that the Pinkerton agency carries on such activities, after having examined testimony taken before the La Follette Senate committee investigating violations of civil liberties pertaining to the activities of your agency."

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SOMETHING CALLED THE CONSTITUTIONAL Educational League has been circulating a pamphlet entitled with heavy irony: "Join the C.I.O. and Help Build a Soviet America." Now in its fifth printing, the little work is packed tight with information such as that "the one place in New York where C.I.O. pamphlets are publicly on sale is at Communist Party headquarters." Powers Hapgood is revealed as using the C.I.O. to organize "on behalf of the Communists." Frank Palmer is described as editor of a "Communist tabloid." And revelation is made of "a very significant step . . . taken in the Red capital." It seems that before Moscow could go ahead with the plans for the American revolution the map of the United States had to be redrawn and the names of its principal cities changed. "The city of Detroit was renamed Lewistown." "Information" of this sort is neither new nor surprising, but the League goes on to strike a fresh note. To anyone "who can prove that a single charge made in this booklet is untrue" it offers a reward of $1,000. It is now two months since Robert Dunn of the Labor Research Association reported some twenty misstatements and demanded his check, but so far the League has been deliberately evasive and has refused to take action. However, Mr. Dunn's action may not have been in vain. The League has just issued a pamphlet version of a bitterly anti-C.I.O. speech by Clare Hoffman, Michigan's vigilante Congressman, and this time it is not offering even fifty cents a lie.

No Philandering, Mr. Lippmann

WITH the debonair playfulness that sometimes relieves his crusading columns, Mr. Walter Lippmann last week rallied the editors of *The Nation* for being "amiable philanderers" with the notion of a farmer-labor party. The occasion was an exultant commentary he wrote on the defection of Senator Nye and Representative Rankin from the progressive ranks and their attack on the Labor Relations Board. Any objective observer could have told us, says Mr. Lippmann, that agrarian radicals and industrial workers cannot make common cause. What separates them is an inherent conflict of economic interest.

We do not want to discuss philandering—either ours or Mr. Lippmann's. If he will forgive us our trespass on the farmer-labor movement, we will forgive him his advances to the Union League Club. We do want to thank Mr. Lippmann for giving prominence to a theme that is among the most fateful in our time. But in doing so, he has muffed the point. It is true that the city worker and the farmer have a conflict of economic interest. Each consumes the product of the other, and each has partly to pay for the increases in the other's income. But Mr. Lippmann should know from a knowledge of our history that American party politics has always cut across just such conflicts of interest. Jefferson, Jackson, and Van Buren successfully united the working farmers and the city workers in the same party. Lincoln performed the even greater feat of adding to this combination the northern industrialists. Since the Civil War both parties, Republicans and Democrats alike, have vied with each other in trying to bring under the same tent the worker, the farmer, the industrialist, and the financier. The control has lain with the last two, who have sought to bribe the worker with the promise of the full dinner pail and the farmer with incessant subsidies. Such bribery was possible as long as we were on the rising arc of national income. But with the Great Depression and the Not-So-Great Recovery, it has become clear that capitalism is not a permanent cornucopia—that our economic life needs to be reorganized and our national income redistributed in a way that makes sense.

Farmers and workers alike are therefore losing faith in the old parties. That much is clear. But it is also clear that they have not learned to pull together. And this not because of any inherent conflict of interest, for there is none. But let us distinguish between two groups of farmers and a third. Out of 6,000,000 American farmers, there are only 23,000 who employ more than ten workers. The rest—the large majority—are working ("independent") farmers. There are thus the agricultural workers, the working farmers, and the large landowners. The real conflict of interest lies between workers in field and factory alike and the large employers in both. The beet-sugar companies, the packing houses, the cannery owners, the cotton barons—these are as much industrialists as the steel moguls. Their fear is that the 3,000,000 potentially organizable farm, cannery, and packing-house workers will be organized. And their fear has some basis. At a convention at Denver early in July a start was made toward such organization, and affiliation with the C.I.O. was voted.

Hence the wave of anti-C.I.O. propaganda that has swept over the Middle West and Northwest. There has always been a standing hostility between town and countryside, between metropolis and hinterland. On this hostility the propaganda feeds. In Minnesota, the Dakotas, Kansas, Missouri, Ohio, Nebraska, and Wisconsin, the Granges and Farm Bureaus, which are dominated by the big landowners, are using press and radio to tell the working farmers that the C.I.O. is organizing against *them*. And it is because many of the farmers are believing this propaganda that the Nyes, the Burkes, the Bennett Clarks dare take their stand against labor and against the progressive phases of the New Deal.

No, Mr. Lippmann, this is not a philandering proposition. It may hold the destiny of your country and ours. The farmers of the Northwest and Middle West may easily, along with the white-collar city workers, become the backbone of American fascism. They have yet to learn that the identity of interest between them and the industrial workers is greater than any conflict of interest. There is a task ahead in teaching them that. It is a task for which no leader with adequate equipment has yet emerged. Meanwhile the C.I.O. must exert every energy not only to fight its enemies in industry, but to fight the lies its enemies are spreading among the farmers.

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Wage and Hour Decency

IT is a wise government that limits its labor regulation to three functions: preserving civil liberties in strikes; providing machinery for collective bargaining; and setting minimum labor standards. Paul Y. Anderson's starkly factual account, elsewhere in this issue, of the employers' violence that has been tolerated in the steel strike points to a bad Administration record on the first count. The record on collective bargaining is much better. For the third, the Administration is making a start with the Black labor-standards bill, which passed the Senate last week and is due out of the House committee as we go to press.

We have no high illusions about the bill. It will not legislate a labor Utopia and is not meant to. It is meant to build a ceiling and a floor that will at least shut starvation out. For the industries whose products enter into interstate commerce, it establishes a federal board of five to determine maximum hours and minimum wages and to fight child labor. It was crushed in the Senate by an avalanche of amendments that have squeezed out much of its original strength. Where it once covered some 12,000,000 workers it now covers about 3,000,000. Various industries have been exempted. And what had formerly been an outright ban on child-labor products, basing itself squarely on Justice Holmes's famous dissent in *Hammer* v. *Dagenhart*, the second child-labor decision, has now been made more digestible for finicky Supreme Court stomachs by being modeled after the formula of the Sumner-Ashurst prison-goods act. All in all, the final Senate bill reminds us of Lincoln's remark about soup made by boiling the shadow of a pigeon that had been starved to death.

But a start is unquestionably better than nothing. The essential thing is to enact into law the principle that the federal government cannot escape the responsibility for setting minimum wages and maximum hours and for extirpating child labor as a barbaric survival. Of course there are divided counsels on the bill. There are those on the left whose fervor for labor is so great that they would rather see no legislation enacted at all than see an imperfect bill passed. Such end-of-session perfectionism seems to us as bad as the hypocrisy of those on the right who are (of course) all for wage-and-hour decency but who fear the powers granted to the board and want further time to study the bill.

We do not mean to belittle any sincere opposition. But it is well to eliminate first the specious objections. There remain two serious questions. One is economic: what effect will the bill have on marginal plants and on sectional differentials in the factors that enter into production cost? The answer is not clear in detail but clear enough in general terms. The effect will be to limit the use of labor exploitation as a competitive weapon in cutthroat and sectional competition. That it will also have an effect on the price structure is clear. But no nation can call itself civilized that keeps prices down by starvation wages and exhaustion hours. And the net economic effect, balancing increased purchasing power against increased prices, is certain to be a gain.

The second question is, on its face, political and sectional. Whose toes are trodden on by the bill? Judging from the direction of the cries of anguish, the pain is chiefly located in the Southern regions. It is no accident that the leader of the Democratic forces opposing the bill is Senator Pat Harrison of Mississippi, just as it was no accident that Representative Rankin of the same state was so bitter in his attack on the Labor Relations Board. Both of them take their stand on the five-dollar-a-week wages paid in the Tupelo mills. And whatever may be their liberalism when the issue does not strike home, they will fight the Civil War all over again before they will allow Tupelo pay rolls to be increased by outsiders from the North.

But we should not be misled into placing undue stress on the sectional aspect. The Harrisons, the Byrneses, the Georges are not defending the South: they are defending sub-human wages and working conditions. It is important to note that of twenty Democratic Senators from ten states below the Mason-Dixon line, eleven voted for the measure and nine against. The sectional influences operate within a larger economic framework. The real split in American life is between progressives and reactionaries. And that is true within the ranks of labor as well as among the spokesmen for the middle class. The C.I.O., despite a temporary crossing of wires between Mr. Lewis and Mr. Hillman, is for the measure. The A.F. of L., despite a similar crossing of wires between Mr. Green and Mr. Frey, is lukewarm about it. The sectional fight serves merely to obscure the more basic conflict.

Neutrality in the Far East

WITH war actually under way in the Far East, the discussion of how to keep the United States out of the next world conflict ceases to be academic and becomes one of the most pressing problems facing the American people. Nothing could be more false than to assume that because the war is being fought in Asia the United States is not likely to be involved. The fact that the last World War had its origin in Europe has led many, if not most, Americans to believe that the next must have similar roots. Our Neutrality Act and our national defense program are both based on that assumption. Actually our interests and commitments in the Far East are much greater than in Europe, and second only to those in Latin America. The Hay "Open Door" policy, the Nine Power Pact, and the Stimson non-recognition principle constitute a logical and consistent policy comparable to the Monroe Doctrine.

The present state of the European tinder-box undoubtedly increases the danger that the spark of the Sino-Japanese conflict may start a world conflagration. In

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1931 the agencies of collective security at least exercised a moral influence; now they are completely impotent, destroyed by the shameless weakness of the democratic powers in the Ethiopian and Spanish conflicts. The formation of the Fascist Front has given Japan powerful allies in Europe who may be counted on to come to its support if the Soviet Union becomes involved in the hostilities. While Russia does not want war and is not likely to be drawn in immediately, the chances of its becoming entangled in the event of a protracted struggle are far from remote. The Soviet Union cannot be neutral at heart in a war of aggression launched by Japanese imperialism. If the Chinese Communists become deeply involved, as now seems likely, the Soviet Union can hardly do other than insist on its legal right to ship munitions and supplies to China, a step which will be relatively easy in view of its geographic position. Japan, on the other hand, will not hesitate to provoke a world war if Soviet assistance threatens its stake in Asia.

Even without a world conflict, there is more than a possibility that the United States may ultimately be drawn in. One incident involving the loss of lives of several Americans would not in itself be sufficient to precipitate us into war. But with Japan in its present temper, it is not difficult to envision a series of outrages in which American rights are brazenly disregarded. And since most Americans view Japan with a suspicion that is tinged with contempt, our jingoist papers would soon be crying for Japanese blood. Our financial stake in China may be relatively small, but our sentimental stake, the outgrowth of huge missionary interests, is perhaps greater than in any other country.

Against this threat our present neutrality legislation offers a very feeble defense. Indeed, it is an open question whether it does not actually increase the possibility of our becoming involved. As the act stands, the President is compelled to impose an embargo on the shipment of munitions and implements of war to both belligerents whenever he finds that there "exists a state of war." This embargo would not injure Japan in the slightest, since it already possesses its own munitions factories, but would work to the detriment of China, which is almost totally dependent on outside supplies. More serious would be the application of the discretionary cash-and-carry clause. Lacking both ships and cash, China would be denied access to the American market, while Japan would have no difficulty in obtaining the cotton, scrap iron, oil, and other raw materials which are essential to its war machine. Contrary to a widespread impression, the President has no power to restrict the export of these secondary war materials. Thus the United States would become an indispensable partner in the rape of China. Our economic machine would become geared with that of Japan, so that ultimately we might find ourselves no more able to call a halt than we were in 1917.

Defenders of the neutrality legislation do not deny that Japan would obtain the lion's share of our supplies, but they insist that the effect would be the same whether or not the neutrality law is invoked. The *New Republic* pointed out in a recent issue, for example, that if Japan blockaded the Chinese seacoast, as it is amply equipped to do, we would be denied the possibility of trading with China, and there would be nothing to prevent our building up a vast war trade with Japan. And it argues that under the present law the cash-and-carry provision would ultimately restrict this trade.

One answer to this argument has already been given by Senator Pittman, the author of the Neutrality Act. Under modern conditions countries do not declare war, and consequently cannot legally enforce a blockade. If the President were to declare that a state of war exists, Japan would utilize this as a pretext to impose a blockade which would throttle all trade with China. Left to its own devices, Japan may hesitate for months before taking an illegal action which would bring it into conflict with the other powers interested in China. Considerable doubt also exists whether the cash-and-carry provisions would limit our war trade with Japan in the slightest degree. The Island Empire has gold reserves of more than $450,000,000, and it normally sells some $170,000,000 worth of goods in this country each year. Credits are not barred under the Neutrality Act, and there is always the possibility of utilizing loans obtained elsewhere for purchases in the United States. Furthermore, experience has shown that credits have a way of being transformed into loans if business demands it.

Most Americans are not likely to take kindly to an arrangement which links us so closely with Japan in its attack on China. Yet if we apply the new neutrality regulations, it would be difficult to withdraw them later without openly insulting Japan. The logical way to deal with the dilemma in which the United States finds itself is to repeal the Neutrality Act. The present situation illustrates better than any amount of abstract argument the very real danger which is involved in attempts to avoid war by ignoring our world responsibilities. But the chances for repeal are very slight. It would be difficult for the Administration to reverse itself so completely after the fanfare which accompanied the adoption of an act which was "to keep us out of war." A much easier course would be to do as Senator Pittman suggests and ignore the law as long as possible. Unless war is declared, the President is under no compulsion to invoke the act; he has not done so in the comparable invasion of Spain by Italian troops.

Insistence on the right to trade equally with China and Japan may be a feeble substitute for the penalties of collective security, but it is probably the most that can be done under present circumstances. There is no reason, legal or moral, why the United States should go out of its way to aid the aggression, as it has in Spain, merely because it passed a law which was designed to keep us out of the last war. This does not imply that we should impose unilateral sanctions. Such action on the part of a single state would be an act of war. This does not, however, preclude individuals, organized or acting independently, from imposing such penalties as their conscience dictates. No country can expect to defy the mandates of world citizenship with complete impunity.

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Armed Rebellion on the Right

BY PAUL Y. ANDERSON

Washington, July 30

FOR several months an important section of American industry, led by the Republic Steel Corporation, has been in a state of open, armed rebellion against the authority of the United States government as expressed in the Wagner Act, and its mercenaries have inflicted heavy casualties in dead, wounded, and captured, without suffering any appreciable losses. The explanation of this astonishing military success is to be found in the fact that the government thus far has refrained from sending regular troops against the insurgents, being content to rely on the efforts of citizen volunteers armed with nothing more deadly than moral suasion. And moral suasion is a poor defense against bullets.

The object of this dispatch is to parade recent incidents of the rebellion in a connected sequence, and thereby attempt to explain why the commission of mass murder in certain localities of the United States has become bolder, safer, and more systematically organized during the last two months than at any other period since Al Capone, Dion O'Banion, the Genna brothers, and Bugs Moran made Chicago their private battleground. The two periods are alike in one respect, that the motive was profit. But whereas the police were merely corrupt and quiescent when the gangsters were killing one another, they are now doing the killing themselves; and whereas all sides in the gang wars were well armed, the police victims have all been unarmed workingmen or innocent bystanders.

On the afternoon of Memorial Day Sunday a holiday crowd of some 2,500 men, women, and children attended a mass meeting several blocks distant from the South Chicago plant of the Republic Steel Corporation, where a strike was in progress. At its conclusion most of them proceeded to a point a few blocks removed from the plant, and there a group of about 400 detached themselves from the main body and walked along a dirt road across an open field in the general direction of the plant, with the intention of marching past the gates, displaying signs appealing to the non-striking workers to come out and join them.

At the far corner of the field, before the gates were in sight, the paraders were halted by a long line of uniformed Chicago policemen, numbering 200 or more. During a parley which lasted not more than four minutes individuals at the front of the procession asked the police for permission to proceed through the line and establish peaceful picketing, as had been promised by Mayor Kelly, and were told in reply to "get the hell out of here." Then, upon a signal which consisted either of the firing of a shot in the air or the tossing of a gas grenade into the midst of the crowd, police charged into the left flank of the crowd, clubbing its members ferociously. From back in the throng a shower of small stones and sticks was thrown toward the police.

Instantly there was a terrific roar of pistol shots from all along the police line, and as the front rank of the marchers went down in a bloody tangle the bluecoats charged with smoking guns and flying nightsticks. Total dead: ten, of whom seven were shot in the back. Total suffering from gunshot wounds: approximately 50, of whom 62 per cent were shot in the back. Total injured from all causes: approximately 75, of whom at least two will be crippled for life. Three policemen were hospitalized. No policemen were shot. Cook County authorities took the position that the victims, including those shot in the back, were killed by policemen acting in self-defense. The coroner's jury sustained that position. Among the 67 persons arrested by police and fortunate—or unfortunate—enough to recover from their wounds, a large number are to be prosecuted for "conspiracy to commit an illegal act," a penitentiary offense.

On June 19 a mediation board appointed by Secretary Perkins met in Cleveland. It consisted of Charles P. Taft, chairman, son of the late President and Chief Justice; Lloyd Garrison, dean of the law school at Wisconsin University, and Assistant Secretary of Labor Edward F. McGrady. Also present were Tom Girdler, chairman of Republic Steel; Eugene Grace, chairman of Bethlehem, and lower-ranking spokesmen for Inland and Youngstown Sheet and Tube. The mediators had undertaken their task under the impression—theretofore shared by virtually everyone else—that the only issue was whether the operators would sign an agreement with the union. They were promptly disillusioned.

Spouting purple profanity, Girdler took the floor to declare that John L. Lewis was a so-and-so, that the C.I.O. was a racketeering outfit, that he would never enter into any kind of an agreement, oral or written, in this connection, and that it was his determination to "make wages conform to the price of steel, if it involves changing them from hour to hour." The more delicate sensibilities of Mr. Grace appeared to shrink when exposed to the rigors of his colleague's vocabulary, but at no stage did he fail to support his position. Patiently the mediators strove to devise some formula, but each successive attempt ended when Girdler pounded the table and bellowed: "God damn it, I tell you the answer is no!" The atmosphere of tension eased somewhat when Girdler departed for Washington to stage his act before the Senate Post Office Committee, to the applause of Senator Bailey, patron saint of the North Carolina textile industry, but after a week the negotiations collapsed and the board members returned to Washington to report to Secretary Perkins.

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After his appearance before the Post Office Committee Girdler presented himself at an exclusive press conference attended by six correspondents, and there he really took down his hair. His remarks about Governors Murphy and Earle, Myron Taylor, chairman of United States Steel, Secretary Perkins, McGrady, Taft, and Garrison cannot be printed here or in any other publication which is destined for the mails. They were not merely profane; they included insinuations which are not tolerated in ordinary locker-room conversation. He left a distinct impression that one of the things he needs most is to go to a competent psychiatrist and have his mind washed out with soap and water.

On June 29 President Roosevelt waived the rules of his press conference to allow himself to be quoted as follows: "Charlie Taft and I agreed that in the nation as a whole, in regard to the recent strike episodes, the majority of the people are saying just one thing—'A plague on both your houses!' "

Four days later Representative Ditter, a Pennsylvania Republican who had been tormenting Secretary Perkins for an opinion on the legality of sit-down strikes, received a reply in which she "deduced" from an opinion by the Third Circuit Court of Appeals in the Apex Hosiery case "that strikers may not lawfully use the sit-down method." Two days later Secretary of Commerce Roper made a radio speech in which he said: "The right to strike must be safeguarded, but equally fundamental is the right to work. . . . Extremists on either side of the prevailing controversy should harmonize their views with the attitude of the majority."

Meantime "the prevailing controversy" had continued to prevail at Republic's struck plant in Massillon, Ohio, but something was being done to "harmonize" the situation. Just when President Roosevelt was washing his hands of the distasteful affair by calling for "a plague on both your houses," Carl Meyers, district manager for Republic in the Canton-Massillon district, was sending for Chief Switter of the Massillon police. Switter later testified before the Labor Relations Board:

"Meyers wanted to know what the hell was going on over there—letting those hoodlums run the town. He wanted to know why we hadn't done like the Chicago police had done. They knew how to handle a situation, he said. He told me if the mills closed down Massillon would be nothing but a junction point, with no need for a mayor or a chief of police or any other city officials."

A Law and Order League, composed of Massillon's "leading" business men, was urging Switter to commission extra policemen for strike duty and offering to pay and equip them. General Marlin, who with a fine sense of impartiality had quartered two companies of the Ohio National Guard in the Republic plant, urged Switter to accept the offer. Harry Curley, a retired army officer, now in the contracting business, offered his services in organizing a larger police force. Finally two officials of Republic presented a list of "loyal" company employees and suggested that the proposed new policemen be selected from it!

Switter resisted valiantly for a few days. He emphasized that there had been no loss of life and no serious disorder. Local manufacturers held a luncheon and demanded action. The Law and Order League "climbed all over the mayor." General Marlin wanted to know why Switter wasn't "showing some signs of life," and when the chief of police explained that he was trying to select "neutral" men for the proposed new commissions the gallant general retorted: "This is no time to be neutral!"

On July 7 the city government and the chief of police capitulated, and thirty or forty Republic employees were sworn in as special policemen. Curley picked them from the proffered list. Republic indemnified their bonds. They were given badges and guns. On the evening of July 11 Chief Switter drove out of town on a picnic. Almost immediately, it appears from testimony, Curley took command of the department. He had no official standing. During the afternoon John Veto, a striker, passing a group of the new special policemen, heard Bill Henderson, a Republic foreman, remark: "We're going to clean them out tonight."

About eleven that night some fifteen or twenty of the "specials" arrived in front of strike headquarters and deployed in a line on the opposite side of the street. Two or three hundred strikers were loafing on the sidewalk in front of their building. An automobile occupied by a striker drew up, and the headlights shone on the police.

"Turn off those lights or we'll shoot them out," ordered a policeman. The motorist turned them out; then, becoming frightened and wishing to drive away, he turned them on again. From among the police came a shout: "All right, they asked for it—let 'em have it!"

The order was obeyed. Wild screams and shouts filled the air as the hail of police bullets crashed into the dense crowd before the strikers' building and tear-gas grenades whizzed through the windows. A dozen men fell to the sidewalk and others staggered about in the street moaning with pain. Total dead: two—one of them shot in the back of the head. Total wounded: 15. Total police injured: none.

In the hours following the killing, squads of police and special deputies raided rooming-houses in the vicinity, breaking down doors, dragging men from their beds, and questioning them as to whether they belonged to the union. Those who said they did—along with some who denied it—were loaded into National Guard trucks and carted off to the Massillon jail and the Canton workhouse. They were held two days, after which most of them were freed—but not before they had signed waivers releasing the city from any liability arising from property damage or false arrest. In that respect they fared better than their comrades at Chicago who will be tried.

Early this week a picket was killed before the gates of a Republic plant in Cleveland when he was run down by a truck operated by a "loyal worker." The latter has been arrested and may be tried for manslaughter. It would serve him right: he should know by now that under the rules of this game you are not permitted to kill a striker until you have been provided with a badge,

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and then you are expected to shoot him in the back—not run over him with a truck.

A few days ago the writer inquired of an authorized spokesman for the C.I.O. whether there had been a "break" with the Administration, and if not, whether one was anticipated. This was the reply:

"We don't want to 'break' with the Administration. God knows we worked and sacrificed to keep it in office. But we don't understand its attitude in the steel strike, and we are resentful to find that suddenly we are no longer politically respectable in the eyes of the Administration. Labor's money and labor's votes were welcome enough last fall, when the Girdlers and the Graces and the reactionary press were damning Roosevelt from hell to breakfast. But now, when Girdler and Grace have their claws in labor's throat, all we hear from the White House is—'A plague on both your houses!'

"We could quote Shakespeare—and the Bible, too—in this situation. President Roosevelt is not the first magistrate to wash his hands when faced with an issue of innocence and guilt. Neutrality ceases to be a virtue when authority is confronted with wanton, cold-blooded, deliberately planned murder. Nor does our case rest on moral grounds alone. The Department of Justice is prosecuting nobody for violating the Wagner Act. It is prosecuting nobody for violating the National Firearms Act. It is prosecuting nobody for violating the act prohibiting the interstate transportation of strikebreakers.

"Yet, with Tom Girdler and Eugene Grace defying the law and spitting in the eye of Secretary Perkins's mediation board, Attorney-General Cummings rushes to indict eight men on charges of obstructing the mails, brought by Tom Girdler's lawyer, although the Post Office Department had informed the Senate that no violation has been reported.

"We expected the Administration to be subjected to the drumfire of criticism now being hurled at it by the Tory press and the vested interests who fought Roosevelt for reelection. Knowing him as we did and do, we expected him to yield a little. But there is a difference between giving ground for strategic reasons and beating a full retreat. There is a stage at which one degenerates into the other. Has that stage been reached? We shall wait a little longer to see."

Franco Cannot Win

BY LOUIS FISCHER

Paris, July 20

I ARRIVED in Paris from Valencia on July 14. Armored cars, big tanks, small tanks, and cannon moved through the streets. I had seen the same kind of machines three days before in the hot hills of Castile. Holiday crowds watched a peaceful parade. In Spain similar equipment, spitting fire, was deciding the fate of villages, of men in uniform, of classes, of regimes, of a country, and perhaps more.

Each time I come out of Spain the calm and peace seem abnormal. Loud sounds do not come from bursting shells nor do airplanes drop bombs. The battalions and material that defiled through the Champs Elysées to celebrate the fall of the Bastille could finish Franco in a month and save France. France and England and Spain. Governments allege that their sole purpose is to keep the civil war from spreading throughout Europe. But why should the Spanish people alone face the forces of darkness?

I have allowed a week to intervene between me and Spain before undertaking a review of the first year of civil war. On July 17—twelve months ago—Franco rose in Morocco. Twenty-four hours later his rebellion was carried to the mainland. What has happened since then?

The oath-breaking generals must be disappointed. They never respected the common people. They never understood the social processes which they wished to stop. They therefore expected victory in a fortnight. Hitler and Mussolini fell into the same error. The whole Spanish civil war rests on a miscalculation. For actually the fascists have nursed their enemy to maturity and power. The Spanish republic was never as strong and real as it is today. When I suggested to a Spanish leader in Valencia that the war was substituting nationalist cohesion for feudal particularism—the Andalusian, Asturian, Castilian, and even the Catalan is becoming a Spaniard—he said the same thing began to happen in 1808. Mussolini is completing the work of Napoleon. Russia and Spain defeated Bonaparte. They thereby resisted the French Revolution and their own future.

Spain's feudal classes impeded economic change and the emergence of a fruitful nationalism. Now the masses, aided by those bourgeois elements whose weakness gave them the time and detachment to read history, have assumed both these tasks. Since July 18, 1936, the Spanish Loyalists have achieved a miracle of organization and discipline. The people of the depths have asserted themselves and discovered unsuspected sources of vigor, resistance, and leadership. The friends of Loyalist Spain are proud of its successful struggle against tremendous odds. Loyalist Spain is beginning to be proud of itself. At public meetings every reference to the beauty and potentialities of Spain, and to the nobility and glory in sacrifice of the Spanish people, is vociferously applauded. Once, when a lyrical speaker used the phrase "from Asturias to Aragon to Catalonia to Andalusia," a soldier shouted "Viva Andalusia." It sounded strange, and there was no echo. In Francoland they cry "Viva España" and mortgage Spain to Germany and Italy. The fact that the

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war in Spain is more and more a struggle against foreign invasion tends to intensify nationalist feeling. Deserters who have passed into Loyalist lines in recent months usually explain their act by disgust with foreign domination among the insurgents. Nationalism thus offers opportunities for propaganda in rebel territory and makes a pointed and honest argument for outside consumption. Spain is undoubtedly fighting to remain independent and free, and Franco is an enemy of his country because he is defending his class. The radicals must undertake a function which the reactionaries have discarded—to protect national interests. Negrin, the Socialist, is by the testimony of events a better Spaniard than the "nationalist" Franco. He is a better Spaniard because he is anti-fascist and socialist.

Bourgeois-born nationalism seeks to ignore or blur or suppress class differences. The nationalism that has grown out of the class conflict in Spain has the same name but another nature. It contains potentialities of evil, to be sure, yet it is first of all inevitable. Nobody in Spain invented this phenomenon; it came. It is, moreover, a mighty weapon. And as long as revolutionary regimes are few and isolated and therefore confined to limited geographical areas, their form must be national though their content need not be bourgeois.

The civil war was born a class war. In its present phase it is a war between nations. But the Loyalist nation is inspired by a social purpose, and the opposing camp is fascist. Thus the class issue has not disappeared. It has expanded. President Azaña, with whom I had a two-hour talk—it was a thrilling but unpublishable interview—thinks of himself as the standard-bearer of the republic and the supreme exponent of the new nationalism. At the same time, however, he accepts and supports the Communists' economic program. The Communists regard that program as national. Indeed, all Loyalist factions are agreed on the fundamental line of social development—anti-capitalism—so that I was able to ask a prominent left bourgeois Republican why he did not join the Communist Party. For in outlining the policy of the left Republicans he had stressed the necessity and desirability of agrarian collectivization and nationalization of industry.

Actually, bourgeois generals and politicians, and many peasants who approve the Communist Party's policy of protecting small property-holders, have joined its ranks. I think these people influence and are influenced. But essentially their new political affiliation reflects a despair of the old social system as well as a hope to salvage one or two of its remnants. This common platform of the progressive bourgeoisie, the Socialists, and the Communists lends tremendous power to the new Negrin government. Ideological bonds hold it together. The bourgeoisie knows that it is incapable of independent existence as a class. Its little parties are therefore the most weak and modest. It is no bar to the complete unity of all proletarian and peasant groups.

The obstruction lies rather in the moderation which the government parties advocate for the present in the old Spanish dispute as to whether political organizations or trade unions should be the axis of political life and economic activity, and in regrettable personal and group rivalries. The "outs"—the Caballero Socialists and the Anarchists—would stimulate anti-capitalist tendencies to a point where they might easily damage the Loyalist cause. This the government will resist. The Caballero group moreover is now being enmeshed in a peculiar contradiction: although its leadership is presumably Marxist, and therefore in principle anti-Syndicalist, it has lost control of the Socialist Party but still holds on in the U.G.T. trade-union federation. It sees its best chance of returning to power by forming a U.G.T.-C.N.T. coalition. The Anarchists, however, regard the C.N.T. not merely as a possible factor in a government but as a body whose individual trade-union units are to operate factories, collective farms, hydro-electric power stations, mines, trolley-car companies, etc. The entire U.G.T. tradition is hostile to this economic form, and the elements which now compose the government will have none of it. Syndicalist management became practically universal in Loyalist Spain immediately after July, 1936. The result often was ruined industrial equipment, reduced output—to which, however, the scarcity of raw material also contributed—and peasant disaffection. In recent months thousands of enterprises which ran themselves into bankruptcy have petitioned the government to intervene with financial assistance. Thus invited to become a receiver, the federal authorities intend in most instances to step in and take control. The Anarchist movement accordingly is being weakened not only by direct political and police repression, but also by economic measures which broaden the scope of government economy and eliminate the syndicates from industry. Simultaneously the central authorities are increasing their economic prerogative by establishing export monopolies for various important products and by setting up the government itself as sole importer. For the national exchequer is the only source of gold and foreign currency for purchases abroad.

Negrin's firm hand has created order and greater productivity in the rear and put an end to the obnoxious Anarchist terror. But the Anarchists should be courted as well as squeezed, for, notwithstanding the impurities in their membership, their political naivete, and their indiscipline, they are a revolutionary movement of considerable though exaggerated strength which can make a contribution to the new Spain. Under present conditions a danger lurks in the internal political situation. The Anarchists are being eliminated as an active factor. The Caballero Socialists, if they persist in their present tactics, may be outlawed within three months. There would remain the bourgeois Republicans, whose role is a minor one, the Communists, and the Negrin-Prieto Socialists. The Communist Party is conducting an intense, unrelenting, whirlwind campaign for the fusion of Communists and Socialists. If successful, this would mean an enlarged organization under Communist domination even if it joined the Second International. But a Communist political monopoly or the monopoly of any party would threaten the democracy which exists today in Spain and which can and should be maintained.

I recently walked down several central streets of

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Valencia with a cabinet minister at eleven o'clock in the morning and drew his attention to many hundreds of young civilian men. They were not in factories, they would be in their offices if they were government employees, and they were not in the army. All cities and villages in Loyalist Spain show a similar picture. The government needs greater power to put these vast human resources to work at winning the war. Yet the power necessary to accomplish this object might easily become excessive and assume the quality of dictatorship. This is a delicate matter which further complicates the problem of political parties.

Through it all, much better economic and military organization has been achieved in the last twelve months. The dislocation of economy is far less than one would expect in a civil war so murderous and prolonged; in fact, in many ways life is much too normal and comfortable. Thanks to the valiant efforts of the Minister of Agriculture, Vincent Uribe, farm output is expected to be 10 per cent higher this year than in the last year of peace. A clever handling of the peseta, energetic mobilization of domestic gold and foreign bond accumulations, and a wise foreign-trade policy make Valencia a financial Gibraltar. I suspect it even profited from the fall of the French franc. The country is not exhausted by the war. Some provinces, indeed, have felt it very little. Nor has the spirit tired. The nearer one gets to the front the more enthusiasm one encounters, and in Madrid and its environs there exists something which is sublime—suffering with dignity, perfect calm in the midst of ubiquitous danger, and a passion for victory.

The most encouraging change has taken place in the army. The war used to be laughably amateurish. What I saw at the fronts recently was impressive in its seriousness. The technical equipment employed in the latest Madrid offensive was superior in quantity and quality to that employed in any similar battle during the World War. And—*mirabile dictu*—the preparations were kept secret. This surely shows that Spain is changing.

I am more convinced than ever that the Loyalists will win. They can hold out for years. Can Germany and Italy hold Franco up for years?

God and Dr. Buchman

BY SAMUEL DUKER

THE dismissal of the Oxford Group movement as well-groomed revivalism is unrealistic. Purely from the religious point of view this movement constitutes a departure from previous revivalist sects, for it has penetrated the upper middle classes and professional groups almost exclusively. Dr. Buchman has achieved this by the adroit use of evangelistic concepts. Talk about sin and God is employed to give religious significance to a comfortable credo of possession in an uncomfortable world. And he has gone beyond enlisting the spiritual allegiance of the wealthy. He has furnished activity which to them has a socially useful meaning; they are "life-changers" and "world-changers." In their work they commute between continents. They stop at the best hotels, meet the most charming people in each community—and all for God. Many have given up their normal occupations to engage in changing lives. These live purely on manna, on "faith and prayer," but in their own words this doesn't mean living in a log cabin; prosperous brethren help the few less affluent. Dr. Buchman himself has been maintaining a high standard of living on faith and prayer for over ten years. He explains it by saying, "God is a millionaire."

But today a religious credo without a social program, however general, must fall flat. The Group, too, reaches out beyond individual conversion and makes its social message a basis of additional appeal. "The Oxford Group," its leader declares, "is a Christian revolution. Its aim is a new social order under the dictatorship of the spirit of God, making for . . . cleaner business, cleaner politics, for the elimination of political, industrial, and racial antagonism." The language differs from that of other political and social cure-alls, but it is eminently palatable for good people, for respectable citizens.

Yet this call to revolution should not be thought an attack on a faulty social system, for primarily it is the individual who is at fault and in need of changing. "I saw it was not a new system we needed, but a new people; not a new division of wealth, but a new discernment of where wealth lies; not a new kind of government, but a new quality of life," writes an American follower. At the same time leaders of the Group freely lambaste the "paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty." They go no further than denunciation, and shy away from analysis of the relationship between that poverty and the distribution of wealth. Spiritual wealth is the sole wealth worth sharing.

The incongruity of crying even such revolution from a Rolls-Royce is made possible by the theology of the Group. God has a plan for everyone and for everything —a detailed plan of thought and action. The faithful in regular "quiet times" listen to him and note his messages. Sometimes these are trivial; like sending the name of an undergraduate who is wickedly cutting classes. But if one is in search of a message, God will not deny it; he is in fact always "broadcasting." Under such circumstances the Christian revolution naturally assumes the character desired by its adherents. The possibilities of such guidance are infinite, and the writings of the Group are sprinkled with references to what will happen un-

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der "God-guided statesmen" and, of late, "God-guided dictators." On specific topics the stand of the movement has been sufficiently clear to rally conservatives in the church, politics, and business to its support. Not Christianity, but what Christianity can do against radicalism, is the theme of their doctrine. At meetings of the Group the flags of the nations, including the swastika, are displayed. But the flag of the Soviets is never there.

The Group does not shrink from the problems which radicalism tries to face. On such subjects as unemployment, social unrest, and labor its stand is reassuring to the status quo. The nature and cure of unemployment are illustrative. The Group starts with a redefinition of the term. Members speak seriously of the "leisured unemployed" as well as of "people without fixed jobs." A convert to the movement, without a fixed job, told one of their international gatherings that "there is no such thing as unemployment. Everybody who is not working for God is unemployed." He himself had found employment eighteen hours a day in life-changing. His point of view moved the chairman of the meeting (one of the leisured unemployed?) to remark, "Unemployment on this basis ceases to become a problem and becomes an opportunity." The substance of this view has received official approval from Dr. Buchman. "The church, if it so willed, could quickly dispose of unemployment. It could set every unemployed man to work for Christ."

Now let us look at the Group's specific treatment of social problems. Since it is an "inner revolution" rather than social change which is the answer to the world's needs, the life-changers have been hard at it among the "slum-dwellers." One of the Group, a hotel director, talked with a Communist who had led marches of unemployed on the town hall. As a result the Communist agitator decided "to throw in his lot with Christian revolutionaries." The report of this conversion concludes: "Now there has grown out of a group of his friends who were a center of disaffection a group of disciplined life-changers." Two mayors in the section of England where this revolution took place welcomed "the new spirit which the Group was bringing to their towns."

Restless workers become marvelously tractable under the spell of contact with "changed" persons. The "change" in a foreman in an Oslö factory led the strike committee which had been gathering funds for a strike to abandon its wicked design. The publication of this news caused a Norwegian business man to exclaim that he was reading things in the newspapers which previously he had seen only in the New Testament.

Some members of the Group had taken part in the settlement of a West Coast cannery strike. On the basis of that experience one Grouper reported that neither side was honest, since each tried to get as much as possible. The president of the Vancouver Stock Exchange and a British Columbia packer both thanked the Group for its efforts "which had saved the industry millions of dollars." While the president of the stock exchange later sent a cable to a Group at Oxford, declaring, "My vision for Canada is complete realization of God as the only power, and we must all be about our Father's business, as there is no time to lose." The definitive pronunciamento on this historic achievement comes from the founder, Dr. Buchman. "The strike," he says, "was dissolved before the potent standards of absolute honesty, absolute purity, absolute unselfishness, and absolute love."

The strength of the movement is a matter of speculation. It has grown amazingly in the last three years; at the Stockbridge session last summer more literature was sold than ever before in this country. Its expansion, however, is not that of a mass movement. The entire trend of activity is directed toward a strongly centralized organization, with nuclei of faithful and dependable "teams" throughout the country. David Lawrence (*United States Daily*, December 21, 1936) suggested that the Oxford Group movement should follow the organization methods of American political parties and "mobilize" the country against class warfare by the technique used to "mobilize" it for Roosevelt.

No figures on membership are available. Indeed, the leaders of the Group deny that it is an "organization" or that it has "members." They are merely interested in the revivifying of existing institutions. So long as the support of the churches remains one of the prime sources of strength for the movement, the leaders will not attempt to build up a membership body outside the churches. Such rivalry would mean the alienation of the churches. Perhaps another important factor is the view that the Group should "sell" its ideas to the public and get the public's support without its allegiance. "The American people are dumb," a man prominent in the movement in the East declared; "tie a bell to an idea and they'll follow it." The effort is to build public opinion in support of the program of the Group.

As a result, the attendance at propaganda meetings is significant, indicating the activity and efficiency of the inner groups controlling the movement. In America there have been no meetings of 10,000 or 15,000 people, such as have been held in Europe and Canada. However, America is the most recent of the English-speaking countries to receive Dr. Buchman's attention. At the Stockbridge session the attendance during the week varied between 2,000 and 5,000 people. Of these some 1,500 were members of teams, leaders, and regular hangers-on. The names of a few of those affiliated are an index to the appeal of the movement: Mr. and Mrs. Cleveland Dodge, James D. Newton of the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company, Mrs. Harry Guggenheim, Mr. and Mrs. George W. Hale Smith, Mrs. Henry Noble MacCracken. Mrs. Henry Ford was the featured visitor.

To what extent the political potentialities of the Oxford Group will be exploited is a matter of speculation. Dr. Buchman is politically ambitious. He has repeatedly expressed a longing for a dictator and admires Hitler greatly. He is ever on the search for "key people" who might adopt his movement as their political platform, and the propaganda of the Group is widespread and unceasing. But in effect it is biding its time now; Dr. Buchman is waiting for those who need him and his philosophy most to take it up and exploit its possibilities. Without them he will get nowhere; with their aid he may go far.

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Issues and Men

BY OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

SENATOR Hiram Johnson, the former Bull-Mooser, long considered a dangerous radical, cried out "Glory be to God" when he was told that the Supreme Court bill was finally shelved. If I cannot be as dramatic as the Senator, I cannot deny my happiness at the result for various reasons. None of them will seem valid to those who are able to perceive in the opposition to the President's measure merely a desire to strike indirectly at labor and the whole New Deal program; who believe that the hue and cry was solely due to Big Business machinations, to the utterly discredited Republican Party machine, and to the capitalistic daily press; who felt that all the liberals who opposed the proposal had either become senile, like myself, or had been bought, or gone bad out of innate, if hitherto hidden, depravity.

While I have never been among those who accused Mr. Roosevelt of seeking to be a dictator or believed it, there can be no question that the road to dictatorship was opened wide by Congress in the first two years of his administration. Indeed, it has never been denied that seventy-seven new powers and authorities were conferred upon him in the first one hundred days of his rule, and that despotic economic powers no one ever dreamed of bestowing upon an American president were given to him when Congress was too terrified to do else than vote the bills he asked for without even stopping to read them. I hold it, therefore, in these days of incipient fascism a cause for congratulation that Congress has exercised its constitutional right to make its will supreme, for better or for worse.

It must not be forgotten that no one in House or Senate proposed this legislation or had a hand in drafting it. It was secretly prepared and sprung upon the Congress in a manner to raise a question of vast importance—whether the President shall allocate to himself the law-drafting initiative and then demand that his party majority pass it, and back his demand with all the tremendous power of patronage which he wields. Leadership we ask and expect in the President, of course, and the right to recommend measures whenever he sees fit. But to draft such a bill as this in secret without any public demand for it—when he declared the people gave him a mandate for this legislation in the last election he certainly misstated the facts—and then seek to jam it through by cracking the party whip, that is a procedure which if frequently or regularly repeated will lead directly to the downfall of Congress and again open the path to a dictator.

I am pleased by the President's defeat because I believe it will put a crimp in the third-term talk so glibly voiced by Governor Earle and others. If there ever was a time in our history when the country should hold fast to the two-term tradition, it is now. Yet I have before me a letter in the Wisconsin *Progressive* which demands the renomination of Roosevelt for a third term because we have no one else to turn to! When General Grant tried for a third term people were sufficiently aroused to put an end to that aspiration of the victor of Appomattox, which was then only eleven years in the past. Then there was no such world-wide drift to fascism, no such hot impatience with democratic government as has affected many Americans today. There were not many serious domestic issues, although much indignation at the corruption of the Grant regime; but none the less, the revolt against any third term was widespread and effective. If Mr. Roosevelt should make the dreadful mistake of seeking to run again—I am confident that he is far too great a patriot to consider it—I for one should expect to campaign against him by day and by night as for the very life of the Republic.

Again I rejoice that the vote to shelve the Supreme Court proposal was so overwhelming—seventy to twenty—for it proves the truth of what has been said by the opposition, that really only a handful of Senators were, like Senator La Follette, sincerely for the bill. A close vote would have led to all sorts of charges. It is now established beyond refutation that the bulk of the Senators were opposed, and those who were going along merely because of party loyalty took advantage of the first opportunity to throw off their party bonds. My next heresy is that I feel that this affords proof that public opinion can still be aroused and, if aroused, can control. There will be many to hoot at this and say that it was all cooked up and bought by reactionaries and Republican politicians who saw a chance to hit the President effectively at last. Perhaps so. I can only affirm my honest dissent from that on the basis of forty years of experience in observing and gauging public opinion.

So what? Well, I know exactly what. It is up to us who opposed the President's measure but who have always favored the curbing of the Supreme Court's veto power to demonstrate that we are sincere in our demand that Congress shall be free to exercise the same right to legislate along lines of social and economic advancement and security that inheres in every other parliament which is still intact and unchained. I have already been asked whether I would heed a call for a convention to start the fight for an amendment and to marshal the arguments which seem to me unanswerable. How I wish that the President would come forward, admit his defeat, and work for such an amendment! In my judgment it could then be got quickly. But whether he does or does not come along, the demand for the amendment must make itself felt at once.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

New Moon

BY LOUISE BOGAN

Cruel time-servers, here is the crescent moon,
Curved right to left in the sky, facing planets attendant.

Over the houses, leaned in the silent air,
Purest along the edge of darkness infinite.

Under it, men return from the office and factory,
From the little store at the corner of Eighty-eighth Street.

On the gnawed snow, or under the breezes of autumn,
With hope and fear in their hearts, and their arms full of groceries.

Above the trim suit, above the flesh starved or satiate,
Above the set hair, above the machines in the beauty-shops;

Above the young men, thinking the popular song;
Above the children, who now in the dusk go wild.

Crescent, horn, cusp, above the clinics, the lodgings,
Sweet curve, sweet light, new thin moon, now purely at ease,
Above the old, going home to their deafness, their madness,
Their cancer, age, ugliness, pain, diabetes.

Bicentenary

EDWARD GIBBON. By D. M. Low. Random House. $3.50.

WHEN Gibbon came to write the purple passages of his autobiography he had ceased to be Edward Gibbon and had become instead "the Historian of the Roman Empire." What he produced is a masterpiece in its own way, but it is less the life-story of a man than some account of the origins of that already recognized institution, himself. He had had no Boswell; he most assuredly did not want one; and when he called attention to the fact that he was giving no intimate portraits of his contemporaries he was probably politely implying that he would thank these contemporaries to treat him with the same reserve. By no means contemptuous of fame, he wanted to be remembered chiefly in such postures as those he himself preserved in the famous passages which describe how he conceived his great project in full view of the Roman Forum and rose from composing the last page of the last volume to meditate upon a solemn but dignified thought: "Whatsoever might be the future date of my 'History,' the life of the historian must be short and precarious." On the whole he would probably have preferred that posterity should know no more of his one significant romance than he thought it proper for himself to tell: "I sighed as a lover, I obeyed as a son."

Some years ago Mr. Low edited the more intimate "Journal" and now, in a bicentenary biography, brings together what can be collected from scattered sources to supplement Gibbon's own account of his life. It is not, to tell the truth, a very great deal—partly, no doubt, because Gibbon's official and intellectual life was, in actual fact, so much the largest part of the whole. He enjoyed being mildly foppish in the fashionable circles of Lausanne; he attended the dinners of The Club in London; and he so far adopted the reigning convention as to complain on one occasion of being treated more as a writer than as a young gentleman of fashion. But he was bookish by nature and probably never thoroughly at home in society. It would be easy indeed to think that one was being funny at the expense of this shy and pompous man who, besides being fat, falsetto, and less than five feet tall, bulged ludicrously in a particularly embarrassing place. But to the credit of Mr. Low's good judgment be it said, he tries nothing of the kind and is content for the most part to chronicle quietly what he has been able to find out.

From Fontenelle—one of Gibbon's favorites—he quotes a passage in which Fontenelle expounds a pet idea concerning the essential changelessness of human nature. Nothing, I think, could give a more useful clue to the defect which a modern reader of the "Decline and Fall" is likely both to feel most keenly and to find most difficult to specify. It has been said that no other major historical work written before the nineteenth century is so little subject to correction, and that may well be true so far as fact is concerned. But to read on past the point where one has ceased to be hypnotized by the majestic march of the style is to feel more and more strongly that what one is witnessing is primarily a pageant, almost a puppet-show. Down through the long, slow centuries only the costumes change. Men are always acting from the same motives and seeking the same ends. Virtue, Vice, Avarice, Patriotism, and Courage remain the same simple abstractions, meaning precisely the same in the third century as in the sixth. There are great men and small, good men and bad, but they are great or small, good or bad in precisely the way that an eighteenth-century gentleman brought up on the classics would be. Gibbon conceives of no psychology except that of his own day. He cannot think himself into any culture or civilization not his own. To believe that human nature never changes and to interpret that belief as narrowly as he did is to come very close to having no historical sense as we understand the term.

Thanks to the existence of certain letters, Mr. Low is able to tell pretty fully the story of Gibbon's abortive romance with Susan Curchod, the attractive Swiss belle whom he found it necessary to jilt in the end. She was persistent enough to force him into an explicit renunciation, and he felt sufficiently uncomfortable to persuade himself that she was somehow unworthy. But the truth probably is that Gibbon always preferred faintly erotic friendships to any more passionate relations and that he did not suffer too deeply. Mr. Low undertakes to defend him on the ground that a young man dependent on his father's bounty could hardly do anything but obey. The fact remains that a good many young men, whether wisely or not, have found other things to do, and the real defense is not that no other course was open but simply that Gibbon knew himself well enough to know that he was not one to count the world well lost. He may not seem heroic in the role he chose to play, but it is much easier to respect him than it is to respect a man who so

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overestimates his capacity for feeling as to make gestures he will later regret. Gibbon in love is a comic figure because acquiescence in the anti-heroic is the essence of comedy, but he is not a farcical one and there is nothing contemptible about the hero of a comedy. "I sighed as a lover, I obeyed as a son" is probably perfectly sincere and perfectly accurate. To see oneself that clearly and to estimate one's capacities that justly is not to be ridiculous. Fortunately Susan was able to marry a wealthy, agreeable man, and if Gibbon, grown very famous, was almost too well satisfied with his position as an honored intimate in the family circle, there is no reason why anyone else should be more disturbed than he was himself by the fact that Susan's husband trusted him with what others might have found an unflattering completeness.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Blueprint of Mexico

PORTRAIT OF MEXICO. By Bertram Wolfe, with 249 illustrations of paintings by Diego Rivera. Covici-Friede. $4.75.

YEARS ago, judging by the work that went into his book, Bertram Wolfe decided to supply the crying need for a popular history of Mexico by providing it in pictures modestly "footnoted." The "portrait" would be Rivera's, the *catalogue raisonné* Wolfe's, and the combination a subjective-objective exposition of Mexico that would be, as it is, unique and invaluable. It isn't an art book and it isn't a history; and it is too analytical and methodical for a "portrait." Blueprint is a better word.

Mr. Wolfe, who is a careful and scholarly chronicler, compacts into thirteen chapters a history of Mexico from its beginnings to the time of Cárdenas. More than once this reviewer was compelled to disagree with his analyses in matters of detail, and remained unconvinced by his interpretations; but the book will nevertheless serve for a long time as the most brilliant articulation of the complex Mexican political and social pattern yet made available.

The chronicle proper is weakest in its presentation of pre-European material. Mr. Wolfe is a historian, not an ethnologist, and he over-simplifies the native cultures into familiar Marxist phenomena. But he brings great order out of the political-economic-military chaos of the nineteenth century, coupling it cleanly to what came before and what came after, thereby rendering the modern history of Mexico really comprehensible. His sections on the revolution of 1910-1920 and its leaders are especially valuable in view of all the sentimental confusion that clutters most of the literature dealing with these figures. And on page 173 there is a summary of the contemporary political pattern that ought to be neatly engraved on something durable and given to newspapermen along with their credentials. One such hornbook, for example, would have spared Mr. Kluckhohn thousands and thousands of excited words. Wolfe gives General Obregón the credit for having evolved the cynical dialectic by which he and every ruler since has controlled Mexico. In all likelihood the technique is hardly so deliberate and conscious as he would have us believe. Yet the effect is probably very close to Wolfe's general estimate. According to the author, it is a kind of see-saw between the internal peasant-worker bloc and the external capitalist force, with army politicians at the fulcrum to determine the point of balance.

Obregón, says Wolfe, "discovered a rough mathematical formula . . . the masses could generally be kept contented with a maximum of radical phrases and a minimum of actual deeds; on the other hand, the hard-boiled financiers were not too exigent as to phraseology but fearfully exacting as to actions." The word for this combination is demagogy, and constitutes an explanation of three-fourths of what goes on and what bewilders newspapermen—especially those who like to think they are watching over American interests.

This, declares Wolfe (furnishing details about Obregón that might as patly be applied to Cárdenas as well), "explains why on one day Obregón nullifies the oil sections of Article Twenty-seven of the Constitution, granting every demand to the American oil companies, and the next day makes one of the most radical pronouncements as to governmental theory ever heard outside of the Soviet Union; why with one hand . . . he gives land in homeopathic doses to the peasants, and with the other he gives away the land as a whole to oil and mining companies. . . ."

The interesting consideration is that, whereas Obregón and Calles, who both ruled by this formula, were unprincipled men, Cárdenas, who is not, nevertheless steps into exactly the same pattern. The mechanics of the situation itself tosses him back and forth between capital and labor, and the net result is a zigzag traveling steadily right. It is a pity Mr. Wolfe does not describe how, when Calles had gone so far to the right that no leeway was left for a zigzag, Cárdenas was thrown up to displace him—Cárdenas as an expression not primarily of his own shrewdness, which is how Wolfe sees him, but of a tremendous nationwide resentment and discontent, which is what made him a kind of Jack the Giant-killer and the most popular president in the whole history of his land.

Nevertheless, as has already been suggested, Wolfe's book is an essential article of Mexicana; it belongs next to Gruening's, and has the advantage of being shorter, though unfortunately no easier to read, since it covers a great deal of ground and the style itself is pedagogical. The Rivera plates are all together in the back of the book (the back half). It would have been much more illuminating and exciting to combine text and illustrations, and there is no excuse for having wasted space providing margins around pictures already reduced in scale from meters to less than inches. The plates do Rivera the justice of completeness but a great injustice as to character; you get no adequate sense of scale, texture, or tonal value from the way they are reproduced, and though great loss is of course unavoidable from fresco mural to half tone, there is more loss here than necessary.

ANITA BRENNER

Anne to Victoria to Wallis

FROM ANNE TO VICTORIA. Edited by Bonamy Dobrée. Charles Scribner's Sons. $3.75.

THE English eighteenth century is the preserve of systematizers and the playground of sentimentalists. In the abstract it has been interpreted by a series of drastic generalizations—Augustan enlightenment, pre-romanticism, the assumption that rules were universally obeyed, reason held inviolate sway, and human nature somehow differed from what it has been in the centuries before and since. In the concrete it has charged the atmosphere with picturesque details—powder and pomatum, sedan chairs, a theory of cultural development that radiates from the Pump Room and the Cheshire Cheese. The plan of the present book is well calculated to upset these generalizations and overshadow these details.

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Bonamy Dobrée conducts us, with characteristic tact, through a gallery of fifty portraits by various and congenial hands. His collection is neither a pantheon nor a curio cabinet; it remains random enough to constitute a scientific sampling of the time and place. It is integrated by the play of cross-reference and animated by the jostling of points of view. By carrying the chronology as far as Byron, it asserts a new continuity and challenges the old impression of a historical enclave. As a pictorial supplement to the more compendious volumes of Leslie Stephen, Lecky, or "Johnson's England" it intends and deserves to be popular.

Apparently the English have no trouble in mustering their writers out for such an occasion. The hands are old hands, their work is journeywork, and their names are those which are most familiar to readers of English reviews. An occasional retired officer or expatriate American can be descried among the college dons and denizens of Bloomsbury. The essays vary in tone and intention; Horace Walpole, for example, is discussed merely as a victim of expurgation. Naturally, the treatment of Swift or Johnson is cursory and banal, but it is refreshing to have satisfactory short accounts of less obvious figures—Joseph Priestley, Coke of Norfolk, Mary Wollstonecraft. Contributors are free to worship their respective subjects in their own way, yet the work as a whole seems suffused with promiscuous piety.

To read it from cover to cover is to learn that the age of Lytton Strachey is becoming almost as remote as the epoch from Anne to Victoria. Everything is extenuated and only a little is set down in malice. Where there is revision and revaluation, it is uniformly apologetic; biographical sketches almost succeed in convincing us that Marlborough was intransigeant, Clive humane, Wesley orthodox. Is not post-war skepticism ebbing fast? Has not the Archbishop of Canterbury called for a new age of faith? Thus these case histories of, by, and for Englishmen on the make comprise a series of program notes to the Coronation.

The stellar performance happens to be the work of an American—if George Santayana can be called that. His soliloquy on Bishop Berkeley makes explicit with sympathetic irony the worldly ties that held together the transcendent vision. This extreme case demonstrates how completely an undertone of worldliness pervades the volume's idealism. Edwin Muir, in a shrewd appraisal, traces the parallel curves of Scott's literary success and commercial failure, with the implication that qualities inherited from a romantic mother and a prudent father were only merged in an artistic stalemate. And Rebecca West, in a charmingly spiteful piece, makes a Pamela-heroine out of Mrs. Montagu.

As between the way of the world and the craft of the artist, some vital considerations are put forward in Herbert Read's study of William Hogarth. Read shows clearly enough that Hogarth's determination to revive native tradition and to popularize his art forced him into a medium which would broadcast his work and ultimately debase it by emphasizing content at the expense of form. But he refuses to recognize that, in the very process, Hogarth was making an important technical contribution; he ignores his morbid preoccupation with the serpentine line; he fails to read "The Rogue's Progress" in the light of "The Analysis of Beauty."

Contributions by the poets are most conveniently regarded as chapters in their peculiar critical autobiographies. The essay on Pope, like so much of W. H. Auden's writing, dissolves into a restless sequence of tossed-off suggestions. Keats and Shelley give Stephen Spender a further opportunity to explore the relations between the writer and his time, as well

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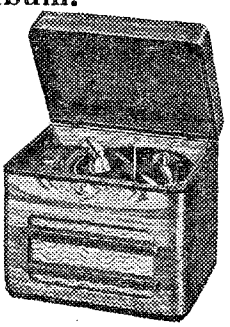

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as his technique. And finally we come to T. S. Eliot, who finally has come to Byron, and, with a masterly exhibit of fairness and patience, heard his recitation and given him his mark.

HARRY LEVIN

Liberty: A Redefinition

THE FUTURE OF LIBERTY. By George Soule. The Macmillan Company. $2.

THE conception of liberty that we have inherited from the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century economists and social philosophers is that of the freedom of the individual from the restraints of society. Fashioned on the economic basis of an early and expanding capitalism, it assumes a society of freely competing individuals secure in the enjoyment of property and more or less equal in the struggle for wealth. It holds that the individual is free when society exercises a minimum of control over his pursuit and enjoyment of wealth, over the public expression of his political and other opinions, and over his religious activities. Mr. Soule weighs this idea of liberty and concludes that today "it is not only useless" but "also actively dangerous."

As long as a considerable number of men could acquire property the "conception of liberty as absence of restraint" and the "assumption that the chief function of society is to protect this negative liberty" harmonized with the facts of the social order. But the conditions that gave birth to laissez faire, free competition, and civil liberty have long since passed. The capitalism of today is not that of petty traders, small industry, and men on the make. It is a capitalism of corporate wealth and large-scale enterprises dominated by a few industrialists and financiers and one in which the competitive market of small producers has receded before monopoly and quasi-monopolistic forces. Whether we like it or not, in our society the vast majority is without property while a small minority possesses vast wealth, and no great consolation can be found in the fact that some members of the middle class and some of the better-paid workers own automobiles and homes. This type of property does not confer on its owners any power to control the conditions under which they work and live. Moreover, many of these middle-class homes and automobiles, like the holdings of numerous small farmers, are hopelessly mortgaged. On the other hand, property which the minority of bankers and industrialists own is the means of production which gives them control over the nation's means of subsistence and the lives of workers and small-salaried people. Under these circumstances the conception of liberty as freedom from restraint can only mean repression for the mass of propertyless men. For it is to this concept that the American Liberty League and other organized property interests appeal when the propertyless seek to exercise control over their working and living conditions. To these interests liberty means freedom to enjoy property without interference from the government and, more especially, from the propertyless. To protect this liberty they have not only sought to obstruct social reforms through a closely knit system of lobbying but have also financed vigilantism, strike-breaking, race prejudice, and mass murder. Liberty as understood by the organized capitalists of our society is altogether vicious from the standpoint of the security, happiness, and freedom of workers and the propertyless middle class. If it is to have positive meaning as a guide to their action, it must be redefined.

In redefining liberty Mr. Soule begins not with the idea of absence of restraint but rather with that of "the existence of a coherent individual with ordered needs and purposes." These needs and purposes are, first, the satisfaction of material and cultural wants and, second, the free expression of human personality. Liberty is to be seen then as the freedom of the individual to satisfy these needs and purposes within a given industrial system and its institutional framework of values and ideals. When a given institutional set-up no longer affords the individual the opportunity to realize these ends his liberty disappears. And this, according to Mr. Soule, is the present plight of the overwhelming majority of propertyless and wage-earning mankind in capitalist society. He thinks that nothing short of a complete reorganization of economic life and a change in the symbols of social faith can restore liberty to the masses of men. A return to laissez-faire capitalism is out of the question. Socialism is much less difficult to achieve. A capitalism modified by planning, the manipulation of credit, the revaluation of currency, public works, and unemployment and old-age insurance may postpone necessary social change. But these modifications touch only the periphery of the economy. They do not reach the basic causes of insecurity, inequality, and the repression of liberty. In fact the great danger is that the forms of economic control, for example cartels and the NRA, instituted by a regulated capitalism will further depress the material life of the masses by restricting output and maintaining prices and will ultimately destroy their few remaining liberties.

The author's analysis of the economic sickness of our society is lucid. His defense of a planned socialist economy is able though brief. These, however, are not the chief merits of the book. Its importance is that it is an essentially Marxian analysis expressed in language that is intelligible and acceptable to an American audience. Mr. Soule believes that in this country "necessary social change can be made only by association with traditional American symbols." Therefore he does not appeal to the authority of Karl Marx for the right of revolution. This right, he thinks, is deeply imbedded in the traditions of American liberalism and it is stated in the Declaration of Independence that whenever any government becomes destructive of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness "it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute new government." Thus his sanction for revolution is a "revivified" and "transmuted" liberalism. This association of social change with the revolutionary traditions of liberalism is not only valid but a necessary basis for the development of a native radicalism in the United States.

ABRAM L. HARRIS

Shorter Notices

HOME IS WHERE YOU HANG YOUR CHILDHOOD, AND OTHER STORIES. By Leane Zugsmith. Random House. $1.50.

MISS Zugsmith writes the kind of stories that magazine editors usually take at first sight. Quite naturally so, for once the short story becomes the product of literary skill systematized into an applied science, the problems of imaginative perception fall away and mechanical inspiration makes everything easier for all concerned. But another result has been that the short story has become something that might be called the hardware of literature. Thus the stories in this volume are good enough as utensils, but quite empty of food and drink. Devoid of individual temper, insight, or language above the common level of the feminine hand in

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fiction, they combine social conscience of a conventional type with the sort of technical expertness which the academies of the genre try very hard to impart to their pupils. Miss Zugsmith does not spare herself at the conveyor-belt, and in the end the little story-machines emerge neat and shiny, ready to be packed and shipped away. Taking her themes from ordinary life—the small griefs of a young girl, a striker's wife learning the meaning of her husband's fight, the slow death of a crotchety old man, and so on—she handles them with frugal care, but on such a low-visioned plane that they are no sooner read than forgotten. PHILIP RAHV

GLITTERING DEATH. By Joseph Peyré. Translated from the French by James Whitall. Random House. $2.50.

M. PEYRE, French provincial schoolmaster, with the aid of such stock properties as brothels, arenas, sanatoria, and much local color, has set in motion a synthetic little drama about the spiritual disintegration of Madrid's favorite *torero*. The plot is a familiar one, and even the most gullible reader can, after a few pages, predict Don Ricardo's eventual return to the arena and his death there in a grand and gory scene. Peyré has concentrated on the clinical aspects of his hero's downfall, hovering with a rather out-moded interest over each new psychopathic symptom. The book, in spite of its crisp style and Hemingway ending, appears old-fashioned and falsely supersensitive. Repeated references to current French snobbisms like Lincoln cars, Miami Beach, Johnny Walker whisky, and Joan Crawford, introduced perhaps for the benefit of an American audience, do not help bring the book up to date. Wedged in among the machine-made conversations, however, are brief flashes of labor disputes and cafe brawls, more French than Spanish, that give the reader courage for the gray pages to follow. As a great chronicler of bull-fighting M. Peyré, with all his documented information, still leaves Ibañez, Hemingway, and Montherlant in full possession of the arena. TOM SQUIRE

STAR-BEGOTTEN. By H. G. Wells. Viking Press. $1.75.

SALON intellectuals who find history lacking in urbanity will be glad to hear that H. G. Wells has discovered a painless method for improving society. "Star-Begotten," his new scientific fantasy, assures us that social reform—even revolution—can now be left to cosmic rays, which are slowly creating a humanity without greed, without war, without profit. Right under our very noses cosmic rays are filling cradles with supermen who will some day direct the affairs of the world; and since their superior intelligence is irresistible we can be certain that they will have no difficulty in seizing power. To these anonymous messiahs Wells gives the name of Martians. Unlike some of Wells's thrillers, "Star-Begotten" is largely a record of gossip and debates about the benevolent effects of cosmic rays. The burden of the meager narrative is carried by Joseph Davis, a potential Martian, and the novel is the Odyssey of his wandering from boudoir to drawing-room to spread the new gospel. It is hardly necessary to add that these exercises in armchair science do not make very lively reading and suggest that Wells's power of entertainment is waning or that he is beginning to take his own dreams seriously. In either case the novel is a symptom of senility; nevertheless at the present stage in Wells's career this can scarcely be regarded as a loss to literature, and it is all to the good that Wells was unable to make so fantastic a version of science and society more palatable to his readers. WILLIAM PHILLIPS

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THE *Nation* ANNOUNCES . . .

Legal Peonage in Florida

In Florida, a statute makes the leaving of employment after receiving "advances" of money or sustenance *prima facie* evidence of intent to defraud, punishable by six months on the chain-gang. The passage of the law was backed by the big turpentine operators. The law is enforced only in cases which concern unskilled Negro labor in the piney woods.

Mr. O. K. Armstrong, who has investigated conditions of peonage in the lumber and turpentine camps in Florida, shows readers of *The Nation,* in an article scheduled for early publication, how this astonishing statute holds Negro workers in bondage.

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FILMS

SINCE last summer I have seen twenty-one films that would be worth discussing in any extended article on the season. They divide themselves into two groups:

I	II
"The Woman Alone"	"Revolutionists"
"Razumov"	"Prisoners"
"Carnival in Flanders"	"Kimiko"
"A Day at the Races"	"Elephant Boy"
"Son of Mongolia"	"The Wave"
"Great Guy"	"Captains Courageous"
"Janosik"	"Millions of Us"
"The Devil Is a Sissy"	"The Yellow Cruise"
"Romeo and Juliet"	
"The General Died at Dawn"	
"The Plainsman"	
"History Is Made at Night"	
"Night Must Fall"	

They are not arranged here in the precise order of my preference, for the simple reason that I do not know what it is; though I am sure that "The Woman Alone" and "Razumov" were the two best pictures of the year. And the second group is to be considered not as inferior to the first, but as different from it. I found that the films arranged themselves quite naturally in two lists: those that were interesting primarily for their stories and those that were interesting primarily for their information, or at any rate for something secondary to the action.

This secondary interest can be of many kinds. In "Revolutionists" and "Prisoners," for instance, it is the interest of history; I do not remember the stories of those films at all, but I know I learned a great deal in the one case about revolutionary techniques a generation ago and in the other case about the psychology of sabotage in contemporary Russia. "Son of Mongolia," equally interesting for the glimpse it gave of a little-known race, was nevertheless a clear and excellent narrative with a memorable hero; so was "Janosik"; and consequently they belong elsewhere. "Kimiko" told me a little more about Japan than it did about its heroine and her father; and in their differing ways the other five were valuable for special reasons, not for the general reason which has to do with story—or, to take a larger term, with poetry.

That I prefer poetry to history I have hitherto confessed. So it is perhaps plain after all that the second group is in my opinion inferior to the first. But that is not to deny its importance, or to forget that the uses of the film are perhaps unlimited in number. It is simply that two seasons of moviegoing have convinced me of this: the camera, with brains and imagination behind it, is as much a master of the story-telling art as anything or anybody else. It will continue to attempt things which it cannot do as well as plays and novels do them, and possibly its duty to itself is still to make a great many mistakes from which the limits of its medium may be learned. Yet it has already produced its masterpieces—stories which no other art could have told as amusingly, as nobly, as swiftly, as well—and in the season just passed it has amply proved its right to be respected. To any doubter I can do no more in this column than recommend that he see either "The Woman Alone" or "Razumov."

MARK VAN DOREN

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Letters to the Editors

Fascism Loses Ground

Dear Sirs: According to recent reports from different sections of Latin America, my article (Latin America: Boycott Fascism), published in *The Nation* of June 5, has promoted widespread discussion. I am also informed that the suggestion of a boycott of German and Italian trade has been taken up by various Spanish and Spanish-American organizations both here and in Latin America, among them the Apra. *Frente Popular,* organ of the Sociedades Hispanas Federadas, a federation of more than 100 Spanish societies helping the Spanish people with food and clothes, is urging a boycott of German and Italian goods and stores.

A reader of *The Nation* recently asked how Latin Americans could boycott German and Italian trade "when all bankers, importers, brokers, and buyers are also fascists." In the first place, not all of them are. But I did not expect bankers and importers and brokers, certainly not those serving German and Italian trade, to cut their own throats. I did not even expect their trade rivals to support the idea, even though the competitors of Germany and Italy in Latin America would gladly do anything to make Dr. Schacht's frantic schemes fail. The suggestion was addressed to the large body of consumers that might be reached through organizations — workers, students, teachers, professionals, residents of the various Spanish colonies, etc.— and petty shopkeepers and artisans who in many instances do their buying from visiting European salesmen. And they are beginning to respond. It is not business boycotting business, but a passive protest of many thousands of outraged people.

The last two months have seen a setback for fascist propaganda in Latin America. From the strangulation of Bilbao to the naval massacre of Almeria, the pro-fascist press has had a hard job to explain Italian boasting and German bombing. Headlines have weakened, and circulation figures dwindled in some capitals. What is even more significant, new anti-fascist journals, such as *La Nueva España* and *España Republicana* in Buenos Aires, have appeared and gained instant popularity.

A letter of recent date from Havana says that "up to a month or so ago most of the press was with the rebels." A straw vote taken by *Bohemia,* a magazine, to determine the comparative strength of fascist and anti-fascist opinion, showed that the anti-fascists are ten times stronger. My correspondent adds that "the undeclared boycott" of the pro-fascist press had threatened their circulation when *Pueblo* appeared. "Within two weeks of its appearance, *Pueblo* became the most widely read and solicited paper," and this swung the other newspapers to a change of tone.

While the fascist powers, after the conquest of Ethiopia and the attack on Spain, seemed to offer a serious threat to British control of Europe's sea routes, the governments of South American nations, whose foreign trade depends largely on Europe, remained silent. But as Spanish resistance stiffens, as Britain hastens the completion of her huge naval program and the threat seems less and less imminent, South American rulers are beginning to ask themselves what is the real strength of the fascist challenge.

The war boom that boosted South American export values during the past year has been weakening of late. And the fascist powers, in their commercial dealings with South America, are showing a fundamental financial feebleness. In the meantime the democratic powers and their allies have remained in control of the world's monetary resources, and South American dictators and diplomats are now hastening to proclaim their faith in "democracy." Some are even invoking the Monroe Doctrine. Saavedra Lamas, the famous Foreign Minister of Argentina, whose policy has for decades been antagonistic to the Monroe Doctrine and who even refused to recognize it before the League of Nations, has now climbed down by the mule's ears, as they say in Spanish, to declare that it is the best way to protect the republican form of government in the New World against "foreign ideologies."

German trade, by the way, recently sustained the most serious defeat in the South American market since the World War when the Brazilian government signed an agreement with the United States on July 15 undertaking to stop the subsidized expansion of German exports to Brazil in exchange for the granting of a $60,000,000 gold credit which the United States Treasury will make available to Rio de Janeiro in dollar exchange.

G. ARBAIZA

Branford, Conn., July 20

New Wrinkle

Dear Sirs: I have not noticed in your columns any comment regarding the recent interesting decision of the United States Supreme Court entitled "Senn *vs.* Tile Layers Protective Union, 81 L. Ed. 829." This case involved an interpretation of peaceful picketing under the Wisconsin Labor Code of 1935, and resulted in another five-to-four decision holding the Wisconsin statute constitutional.

The dissent, written by Justice Butler and concurred in by Van Devanter, McReynolds, and Sutherland, presented something new in legalistic acrobatics— namely, that a union which wished peacefully to picket a place of business, by using a sign advising that the employer was unfair, must first establish that the employer was actually unfair. This conclusion would force a union to resort first to some legal proceeding to determine whether or not the employer was unfair, and until the matter was adjudicated the picketing, no matter how peaceful, would be unlawful.

HARRY DRUKER

Marshalltown, Iowa, July 15

Plea from a Scottsboro Boy

Dear Sirs: I am quite sure you all have read the outcome of my trial, and seen that I was given a miscarriage of justice. I feel it is my duty to write you all the facts of my case, which you perhaps overlooked, or perhaps it was not published in the papers. I was framed, cheated, and robbed of my freedom. First, beginning March 25, 26, and 27, 1931, I wasn't charged with criminal assault on either girl, and was carried through the first, second, and third degree, and even on the basis I would gain my freedom by turning state evidence against the other eight boys. Just because I didn't know nothing, nor neither would I lie on the other boys the charge of rape was framed and placed against me on the 28th day of March, 1931.

I was tried, convicted, and given the death sentence, and in November, 1932, the Supreme Court of the United States reversed the sentence and a retrial ordered. The 19th day of July, 1937, I was retried and sentenced to 99 years' imprisonment.

Now I wish to call your attention to how the judge charged the jury. He charged them in a perjury way. Out of

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his one hour and twenty-five minutes summation he only mentioned acquittal three times and each time he contradicted it by saying if you juries find a doubt which goes to me reconsider it. Never did he mention a single defense witness in his hour and twenty-five minutes summation to the jury.

How can I receive justice in the state of Alabama, especially of Morgan County, when perjury is used against me and my attorneys too? And I beg you, dear friends, readers, all stick together and work and struggle together and see that justice be brought to light. Let us all pull and struggle together and see that justice be done. It is not that I hate to go to prison, but I am innocent, and the slander is being thrown on our race of people and my family, is my reason of wanting to fight harder than ever.

ANDY WRIGHT

Montgomery, Ala., July 24

Dictionaries Back Down

Dear Sirs: Your reviewer of "Milton and Wordsworth" on July 3 says "to distinguish among three kinds of poetry." This is bad English for "distinguish between three kinds." The dictionaries, stubborn as they have been, have now grown reasonable enough to back down from their attitude of permitting us to say "among" instead of "between" wherever more than two persons or things are involved. Not only do they no longer give such a sweeping permission, but they confess that the permission was invalid when they did give it, and that those who said "among the three" where they ought to have said "between the three" were speaking incorrectly even when they had the dictionaries at their back. It is now agreed that under many circumstances we have to say "between the three," not "among the three"; see especially the plain words in the big Oxford Dictionary under "between," definition 19. And "distinguish" is one of the words after which "between," not "among," is required; see the same dictionary under "distinguish."

STEVEN T. BYINGTON

Ballard Vale, Mass., July 3

CONTRIBUTORS

PAUL Y. ANDERSON, a Washington correspondent of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch,* wrote the now famous description of the suppressed Paramount News film of the Memorial Day massacre in South Chicago.

SAMUEL DUKER, a student at the Harvard Law School, has made a study of Buchmanism.

LOUISE BOGAN, the poetry critic of the *New Yorker,* has just published a book of verse, "The Sleeping Fury."

ABRAM L. HARRIS, professor of economics at Howard University, is co-author with Sterling Spero of "The Black Worker" and author of "The Negro as Capitalist."

TOM SQUIRE formerly conducted the book section of the Brooklyn *Daily Eagle.*

WILLIAM PHILLIPS is one of the editors of the *Partisan Review.*

INFORMATION FOR SUBSCRIBERS

THE NATION, 20 Vesey St., New York. Price, 15 cents a copy. By subscription—Domestic: One year $5; Two years $8; Three years $11. Additional Postage per year: Foreign, $1; Canadian, 50 cents. The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Dramatic Index, Index to Labor Periodicals, Public Affairs Information Service. Three weeks' notice and the old address as well as the new are required for change of address.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACTS OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AND MARCH 3, 1933.

Of *The Nation,* published weekly, at New York, N. Y., for August 7, 1937.

STATE OF NEW YORK } ss.:
COUNTY OF NEW YORK }

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Hugo Van Arx, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the business manager of *The Nation,* and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in Section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business manager are: Publisher, The Nation, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York, N. Y.; Editors, Freda Kirchwey, 20 Vesey Street, New York, N. Y.; Max Lerner, 20 Vesey Street, New York, N. Y.; Business Manager, Hugo Van Arx, 20 Vesey Street, New York, N. Y.

2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given.) The Nation, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York, N. Y.; Freda Kirchwey, 20 Vesey Street, New York, N. Y.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.) None.

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5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the twelve months preceding the date shown above is. (This information is required from daily publications only.)

HUGO VAN ARX,
Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 7th day of August, 1937. TERESITA GRANT.

(My commission expires March 30, 1939.)
(Seal)

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